

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 222169

STADIS////////////////////////////////////
LIMDIS, FOR AMBASSADOR FROM LUERS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PGOV, XH, US

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY ON EASTERN EUROPE BEFORE HIRC

REF: STATE 205822

1. HIRC HEARINGS ON EASTERN EUROPE ARE NOW SCHEDULED FOR
MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 7

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2. ALTHOUGH I REALIZE WE ARE LATE AND YOU WILL HAVE LITTLE
TIME TO RESPOND, I STILL BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO GIVE
YOU SOME OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON THE POLICY SECTION OF MY
TESTIMONY. WHAT FOLLOWS HAS NOT YET BEEN FULLY CLEARED HERE.
WE PLAN TO PUT THE STATEMENT TOGETHER ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER
4, FOR ADVANCE SUBMISSION TO THE HIRC THE FOLLOWING DAY.
THEREFORE, I WILL NEED TO HAVE ANY COMMENTS YOU MAY HAVE,
PREFERABLY WITH SPECIFIC LANGUAGE, BY SEPTEMBER 4.

3. BEGIN TEXT.

THE CONTEXT OF U.S. POLICY

IN THE PRECEDING SECTIONS OF THIS STATEMENT WE TRIED TO
OUTLINE THE CONTEXT IN WHICH U.S. POLICY MUST OPERATE:

-- HISTORICALLY EASTERN EUROPE HAS BEEN ALTERNATIVELY A
BUFFER ZONE AND A BATTLEFIELD, A SPARK FOR WORLD WARS, AND
AN AREA OF RIVALRY AMONG GREAT POWERS. BUT, DESPITE GREAT
POWER COMPETITION FOR THE LOYALTIES OF THE PEOPLES OF
EASTERN EUROPE, A STRONG SENSE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND
ASPIRATION IN EACH COUNTRY HAS BEEN TENACIOUS.

-- SOVIET POWER, WHICH DOMINATED THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF
EASTERN EUROPE FOLLOWING 1945, IS RECONCILED-- WITHIN
LIMITS--TO SOME DIVERSITY. THE SOVIET UNION HAS EVIDENTLY
VIEWED THE DIVERSITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN EASTERN
EUROPE AS A NECESSARY TRADE-OFF FOR POLITICAL STABILITY
AND ECONOMIC VIABILITY.

-- DIVERSITY IS, THEREFORE AN INCREASINGLY DOMINANT POLIT-
ICAL CHARACTERISTIC IN THE AREA. WHILE MAINTAINING THE
PRIMARY ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THEIR FORMAL COMMIT-
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MENT TO THE WARSAW PACT, THESE COUNTRIES ARE INCREASINGLY
DEMONSTRATING DIVERGENT DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES.

-- IMPROVED ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY IS THE ELUSIVE GOAL OF
VIRTUALLY ALL THESE GOVERNMENTS. WITHIN THE CONSTRAINTS
OF IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS, EACH GOVERNMENT HAS TRIED
DIFFERING APPROACHES TO ECONOMIC REFORMS, INCENTIVES,
IMPORTED TECHNOLOGY AND FOREIGN TRADE.

U.S. INTERESTS

EASTERN EUROPE IS IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES FOR TWO
FUNDAMENTAL REASONS: SECURITY AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS.

-- OUR SECURITY IS LINKED TO EUROPE'S. TWO WORLD WARS
WERE IGNITED IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE MACHINERY FOR A WAR
INFINITELY MORE DESTRUCTIVE THAN EITHER OF THOSE IS ALREADY
IN PLACE. WE MUST AND WILL MAINTAIN A CREDIBLE DETERRENT
TO POSSIBLE MILITARY AGGRESSION BY WARSAW PACT FORCES. BUT
THIS DETERRENT MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY CONSISTENT DIPLOMATIC
EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE DANGERS OF WAR AND CONFRONTATION. TO
IGNORE THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE WOULD BE TO LEAVE
PEACE TO CHANCE.

-- THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLES LIVING IN EASTERN EUROPE
MATTERS DEEPLY TO THIS NATION. MORE THAN FIFTEEN MILLION
AMERICANS HAVE THEIR HERITAGE IN THAT REGION. MILLIONS

OF OTHER AMERICANS SYMPATHIZE WITH THE LONG STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE REGION FOR INDEPENDENCE, SECURITY, AND MATERIAL PROGRESS.

RELATED TO BOTH OUR SECURITY AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS IS OUR INTEREST IN BUILDING MORE DURABLE TIES WITH THE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES OF EASTERN EUROPE THROUGH EXPANDED TRADE AND ECONOMIC INTERACTION, THROUGH CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES, AND THROUGH THE INCREASED INTERCHANGE OF CONFIDENTIAL

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PEOPLE AND IDEAS. THESE EFFORTS MAY NOT PRODUCE MEASURABLE RESULTS IN THE SHORT TERM, EITHER IN AMELIORATING EAST-WEST RELATIONS OR IN MODERATING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR PEOPLES. BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT THE EASTERN EUROPE OF TODAY IS, IN GENERAL, A MORE ACCESSIBLE AND OPEN AREA THAN IT WAS TWO DECADES OR EVEN A DECADE AGO. AND WE CAN BE FAIRLY CERTAIN THAT A LACK OF EFFORT TO EXPAND CONTACTS WITH THE REGION WOULD RESULT IN GREATER STATE-TO-STATE TENSIONS AND LESS PROGRESS ON HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS.

ONE CAVEAT IS IMPORTANT. THE EFFORTS OF THIS AND PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE IN NO WAY INDICATE A LESSENING OF OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE LACK OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND OTHER BASIC ELEMENTS OF FREE SOCIETIES IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD. WE CONTINUE TO HAVE PROFOUND DISAGREEMENTS WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF EASTERN EUROPE OVER MANY QUESTIONS OF POLITICAL FREEDOMS AND BASIC HUMAN AND SOCIAL VALUES. INDEED, THE VERY EXPANSION OF RELATIONS WITH THESE COUNTRIES HAS ENABLED US TO TALK MORE CANDIDLY WITH THEIR GOVERNMENTS ABOUT OUR DIFFERENCES BOTH IN BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS AND IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS.

EASTERN EUROPEAN INTERESTS

THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE HAVE STRONG INTERESTS IN BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. PARAMOUNT AMONG THESE ARE THEIR OWN SECURITY CONCERNS. THE REGION STANDS TO LOSE DISASTROUSLY FROM ANY MAJOR EAST-WEST ARMED CONFRONTATION. THEIR MEMORIES AND SCARS OF WORLD WAR II ARE STILL FRESH. THE COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF THE REGION SEE BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, AND WITH THE WEST GENERALLY, AS A MEANS OF REDUCING THE RISK OF SUCH CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFRONTATION.

SECOND, THESE COUNTRIES SEEK, PARTLY THROUGH FOREIGN TIES, TO ENHANCE THEIR NATIONAL IDENTITIES AND TO FULFILL THEIR

OWN NATIONAL DESTINIES. THE REGIMES SEEK TO BE ACCEPTED, PARTICULARLY BY THEIR WESTERN EUROPEAN NEIGHBORS AND BY THE UNITED STATES, AS LEGITIMATE.

THIRD, ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, ALL OF THE GOVERNMENTS ARE COMMITTED TO ECONOMIC GROWTH, AND THEIR PEOPLES ALL SEEK A

HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING. EXPANDED ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, INCLUDING ACCESS TO OUR GOODS, TECHNOLOGY, AND KNOW-HOW, AND TO OUR MARKET, SERVES THE GOALS BOTH OF THE GOVERNMENTS AND OF THE PEOPLES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

FOURTH, IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES RESPONDS TO A DEEPLY-FELT ADMIRATION FOR THIS COUNTRY WHICH REMAINS NEARLY UNIVERSAL AMONG PEOPLE THROUGHOUT EASTERN EUROPE. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE GOVERNMENTS DEAL WITH THE UNITED STATES IN NON-HOSTILE TERMS, THEIR PEOPLES ALSO FEEL MORE RELAXED ABOUT EXPRESSING THEIR GOOD WILL TOWARD THE UNITED STATES. AND TO THE EXTENT THAT THE GOVERNMENTS CARE ABOUT THE IMPACT OF THEIR INTERNAL PRACTICES ON AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION, THEY ARE LESS LIKELY TO EMPLOY REPRESSIVE MEASURES AND TO VIOLATE RECOGNIZED NORMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT POINT. IN ECONOMIC, TRADE AND CULTURAL TERMS, THE COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE HAVE A GREATER ROLE IN EASTERN EUROPE THAN DOES THE UNITED STATES. IN PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POSSIBLY POLITICAL TERMS THE UNITED STATES IS EXPECTED TO PLAY AND INDEED PLAYS AN IMPORTANT IF NOT VITAL ROLE.

THE POLICY OPTIONS

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THE RANGE OF US POLICY OPTIONS TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE IS IMPLIED IN THE PATTERN OF PAST POLICIES: WE COULD APPROACH THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION AS ADVERSARIES, TIED MILITARILY, POLITICALLY, AND ECONOMICALLY TO THE SOVIET UNION. AT THE OTHER EXTREME, WE COULD SEEK TO EXPLOIT OPPORTUNITIES AS THEY ARISE AND TO MOVE RAPIDLY TO MAXIMIZE OUR INFLUENCE WITHOUT REGARD TO POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES WITHIN THE REGION. THERE ARE ARGUMENTS FOR BOTH, BUT IN OUR VIEW THE FIRST IS TOO RIGID, LEAVING RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE LARGELY HOSTAGE TO RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW, WHILE THE SECOND IS UNREALISTIC, POSSIBLY RECKLESS AND POTENTIALLY DESTABILIZING.

PAST U.S. POLICY

IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-WAR ERA, US POLICY TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE TENDED TO FUNCTION AS A COROLLARY OF US POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. IN THE 1950'S THE COLD WAR

DOMINATED OUR PERCEPTIONS AND CONDITIONED OUR POLICY. WITH THE GROWTH OF A DETENTE RELATIONSHIP WITH MOSCOW, OUR RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES DEVELOPED BEYOND THE LIMITED PREVIOUS RANGE. IT IS WORTH NOTING, HOWEVER, THAT EVEN WITHIN THIS GENERAL PATTERN THERE WERE IMPORTANT

EXCEPTIONS. WITH POLAND, FOR EXAMPLE, OUR RELATIONS IMPROVED NOTABLY BEGINNING IN 1956 WHEN POLAND INITIATED A POLICY OF INCREASED INTERNAL LIBERALIZATION AND EASED ITS EMIGRATION POLICIES. THIS WAS GIVEN ADDED IMPETUS IN 1971 AS PART OF THE BROADER THAW IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. WITH ROMANIA WE DEVELOPED MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS BEGINNING IN THE MID-60'S WHICH HAVE CONTINUED SINCE. IN THIS CASE THE IMPROVEMENT WAS MADE POSSIBLE LARGELY BY ROMANIA'S RELATIVELY INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY WHICH INCLUDED AN CONFIDENTIAL

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INTEREST IN BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE US. IN 1969 BUCHAREST BECAME THE FIRST CAPITAL OF A COMMUNIST COUNTRY TO BE VISITED BY ANY AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

THIS PATTERN OF DEALING WITH EACH COUNTRY ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS IS DETERMINED IN PART BY THEIR WILLINGNESS TO DEVELOP CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH US. AS INDICATED BY PAST PRACTICE, IT HAS NOW BECOME THE RULE RATHER THAN THE EXCEPTION. WE SEEK TO RESPOND TO COUNTRIES THAT MOVE TOWARD INTERNAL REFORM AND LIBERALIZATION OR TO SIGNS OF NATIONALLY BASED FOREIGN POLICIES. THIS IS A POLICY WHOSE TIME HAS COME, BUT IT HAS SEVERAL ANTECEDENTS:

-- PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, IN AN EFFORT TO ERODE COLD WAR BARRIERS, PROPOSED A "PEOPLE TO PEOPLE" PROGRAM WHICH CONTINUES TO FUNCTION AND WHICH SERVES ONE OF THE CONSISTENT GOALS OF OUR POLICY OVER MANY YEARS -- TO EXPOSE PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SOCIETIES TO EACH OTHER IN HOPES OF PROMOTING BROADER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND REDUCING HOSTILITIES.

-- IN 1964, PRESIDENT JOHNSON SPOKE OF "BUILDING BRIDGES OF UNDERSTANDING" ACROSS THE GULF WHICH HAD SEPARATED US FROM EASTERN EUROPE, AND IN 1966 HE PROPOSED THE EXPANSION OF PEACEFUL TRADE BETWEEN THE US AND EASTERN EUROPE.

-- IN 1973, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE KENNETH RUSH SAID THAT "WE SEEK TO ENGAGE THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE IN AN EXPANDING SET OF CLOSE AND INDIVIDUAL RELATIONSHIPS." RUSH ALSO SET OUT THREE PRINCIPLES FOR OUR POLICY TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE: TO DEAL WITH EACH COUNTRY "AS AN INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN STATE;" "TO CREATE A CONTINUING ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP" THROUGH GREATER TRADE AND INVESTMENT; TO PROMOTE THE ENGAGEMENT OF THEEAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES "IN THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE AS A WHOLE."

CURRENT U.S. POLICY
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OUR POLICY TODAY TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE DOES NOT THEREFORE
REPRESENT A SIGNIFICANT DEPARTURE FROM THE U.S. POLICIES

THAT HAVE EVOLVED OVER THE PAST THREE DECADES. THE MAJOR
DIFFERENCE IS THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS PROBABLY
DEVOTED MORE ENERGY, MORE CONSISTENTLY AND AT A HIGHER
LEVEL, TO THE PURSUIT OF OUR POLICY OBJECTIVES THAN HAVE
PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS.

SECRETARY VANCE SAID IN BUDAPEST EARLY THIS YEAR, "THE
CURRENT ADMINISTRATION IS SEEKING TO IMPROVE ITS RELATION-
SHIPS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE. EACH OF US
WILL HAVE TO APPROACH THIS WITH OUR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS
INVOLVED. I THINK THAT THE BEST WAY TO DEAL WITH THESE
PROBLEMS IS TO HAVE FACE-TO-FACE DISCUSSIONS WHERE WE CAN
DISCUSS THE DIFFERENCES AND THE COMMON INTERESTS. WE SHALL
PURSUE THESE ON THE BASIS OF DEALING ON A CASE BY CASE
BASIS, COUNTRY BY COUNTRY, ON THE VARIOUS ISSUES AND COMMON
CONCERNS WHICH WE HAVE."

OUR POLICY THEN IS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING:

-- WE RECOGNIZE AND SUPPORT THE INDIVIDUALITY OF EACH
COUNTRY AND SEEK TO WORK OUT OUR RELATIONS DIRECTLY, AND
BILATERALLY ON THE BASIS OF OUR REPECTIVE NATIONAL INTERESTS.

-- OUR APPROACH TO THESE COUNTRIES IS NOT DEPENDENT ON OUR
RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT INTERNAL LIBERALIZATION AND REFORM ARE
IMPORTANT, AND THAT EXPANDED HUMAN CONTACTS, TRADE, AND
INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION ARE THE PRIMARY TOOLS FOR
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IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE AREA.

-- WE ARE MINDFUL OF THE LIMITS OF U.S. INFLUENCE AND OF
THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTRIBUTING TO THE SECURITY OF ALL OF
EUROPE IN PURSUIT OF OUR POLICIES.

MORE SPECIFICALLY, WE:

-- SEEK TO DEVELOP MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL BILATERAL RELATIONS
TO THE EXTENT THAT INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES ARE WILLING AND
ABLE TO SUSTAIN THEM. FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE COMPLETED
NEGOTIATION OF CONSULAR AGREEMENTS WITH ALL THE EASTERN
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES EXCEPT FOR THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC

REPUBLIC, AND WE HAVE CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE AGREEMENTS WITH BULGARIA, HUNGARY, AND ROMANIA, AND EXTENSIVE EXCHANGE PROGRAMS WITH POLAND.

-- ENGAGE IN HIGH LEVEL CONTACT WITH LEADERS OF THOSE COUNTRIES OF THE AREA TO THE EXTENT OUR RELATIONS HAVE

ADEQUATELY DEVELOPED. IMPLEMENTING THIS POLICY, PRESIDENT CARTER VISITED POLAND LAST WINTER, PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU OF ROMANIA VISITED THE UNITED STATES THIS SPRING, AND CABINET LEVEL OFFICIALS HAVE EXCHANGED VISITS WITH SEVERAL COUNTRIES IN THE AREA.

-- ENCOURAGE EXPLORATION OF ALL POSSIBILITIES PROVIDED BY THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT TO STIMULATE CONTACTS AND TO ACHIEVE CONCRETE PROGRESS IN THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS WHICH CONTINUE TO HINDER RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE. IN PARTICULAR, WE SEEK SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS AFFECTING THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS AND TO ENCOURAGE IMPROVEMENT OF THE OBSERVATION OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS. WE ARE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED OVER THE NEED FOR PROGRESS ON DIVIDED FAMILY PROBLEMS, WHICH ARE OF DIRECT INTEREST TO MANY AMERICAN CITIZENS.

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-- IMPROVE OUR TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS THROUGH THE RESOLUTION OF NATIONALIZATION CLAIMS AND WHERE POSSIBLE BY THE RECIPROCAL EXTENSION OF MOST-FAVORED-NATION (MFN) TARIFF TREATMENT. WE HAVE NOW CONCLUDED CLAIMS AGREEMENTS WITH ALL OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION EXCEPT FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC. THE IMPLEMENTATION EARLIER THIS SUMMER OF THE US-HUNGARIAN TRADE AGREEMENT MAKES HUNGARY THE THIRD COUNTRY IN EASTERN EUROPE, AFTER POLAND AND ROMANIA, TO RECEIVE MFN, REFLECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THOSE COUNTRIES ACROSS THE BOARD. PERIODIC GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT CONSULTATIONS ON A NUMBER OF LEVELS CAN ALSO HELP TO EXPAND OUR BILATERAL TRADE.

-- AIM TO ENGAGE THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES MORE FULLY INTO WORLD TRADE AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES, SUCH AS IN THE CURRENT MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA AND IN VARIOUS NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES.

-- SEEK TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF OPPOSING FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE THROUGH A CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO THE VIENNA TALKS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS (MBFR), AND THROUGH ENGAGEMENT ON OTHER ARMS CONTROL MEASURES.

IN CONCLUSION, WE BELIEVE THAT OUR POLICIES TOWARD THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE AND THE OBJECTIVES WE SEEK THROUGH THESE POLICIES ARE GENERALLY SUPPORTED, ON A

BIPARTISAN BASIS, BY THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN
PUBLIC. OUR APPROACH IS ONE WHICH WE BELIEVE IS BEST

DESIGNED TO ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE
ROLE IN EASTERN EUROPE.

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WE APPRECIATE YOUR EFFORTS, MR. CHAIRMAN, AND THOSE OF YOUR
COMMITTEE IN INITIATING THIS SERIES OF HEARINGS ON EASTERN
EUROPE. WE ARE CERTAIN THAT THEY WILL AID IN OUR EFFORTS
TO FORMULATE AND DEVELOP OUR POLICIES, AND THAT THEY WILL
CONTRIBUTE TO GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF OUR APPROACH AND
OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND TRENDS IN THAT PART OF THE
WORLD. END TEXT. VANCE

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